

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 SAM-01 EB-07 /079 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 357

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 0608

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS ON FOLLOW-UP

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: WORKING GROUP ON FOLLOW-UP IS CURRENTLY CONSIDERING TWO PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS COVERING IMPLEMENTATION OF CONFERENCE RESULTS AND CONTINUITY OF MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATING PROCESS. ISSUE IS WHETHER TO ACCEPT A BRACKETED PREAMBULAR REFERENCE TO FURTHER MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES. THIS TELEGRAM GIVES PRESENT STATUS OF THIS DISCUSSION AND INDICATES POSITION WE PLAN TO TAKE. END SUMMARY.

2 LATEST COMPROMISE VERSION OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION IN WORKING GROUP ON FOLLOW-UP IS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE:

--RESOLVED TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE IN ORDER TO GIVE FULL EFFECT TO ITS RESULTS AND THUS TO PROMOTE THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND DEVELOPING COOPERATION IN EUROPE;

-- CONVINCED THAT, IN ORDER TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE, THEY SHOULD MAKE NEW EFFORTS, INCLUDING THE CONTINUATION, IN APPROPRIATE FORMS, OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS BEGUN BY THE CONFERENCE.

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UNQUOTE.

3. SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES HAVE SUGGESTED ADDING THE FOLLOWING PHRASE TO THE END OF THE SECOND SENTENCE ABOVE: QUOTE: INCLUDING NEW MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES. UNQUOTE.

5. NATO GROUP HAS STRONGLY OPPOSED THIS ADDITION ON THE GROUNDS THAT INCLUSION OF SUCH A PHRASE IN PREAMBLE WOULD PREJUDGE FORM OF FOLLOW-UP AND THAT PHRASES OF THIS KIND PROPERLY BELONG IN OPERATIVE PART OF CSCE DOCUMENT ON FOLLOW-UP. NEVERTHELESS, SOVIETS HAVE BEEN SURPRISINGLY INSISTENT ON INCLUDING SOME PHRASE ABOUT A NEW CONFERENCE OR CONFERENCES IN THE PREAMBLE, EVEN IF IT HAS TO BE IN BRACKETS AT THIS STAGE.

5. WE HAVE PRIVATELY ASKED SEVERAL EASTERN REPS TO EXPLAIN WHY THEY ARE SO ANXIOUS TO INCLUDE SUCH A PHRASE IN THE PREAMBLE NOW. THEIR REPLIES HAVE ALL BEEN ALONG THE SAME LINES: "A BIRD IN HAND IS WORTH TWO IN THE BUSH." THIS EASTERN ATTITUDE HAS STIMULATED SPECULATION BY CONFERENCE DELEGATES THAT SOVIETS WOULD ACTUALLY PREFER A SIMPLE COMMITMENT TO A NEW CONFERENCE OR CONFERENCES TO A MORE ELABORATE FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM.

6. NATO GROUP HAS THUS FAR BEEN ADAMANT IN REJECTING ANY REFERENCE TO A NEW CONFERENCE OR CONFERENCES IN THE PREAMBLE, EVEN IN BRACKETS, BUT ITALIAN AND UK DELEGATES ARE NOW LOOKING FOR A WAY TO RESOLVE THIS IMPASSE, PROBABLY BY ACCEPTING SUCH A REFERENCE FOR TRADE-OFF AT A LATER DATE. ITALIAN SUGGESTION FOR SUCH A BALANCING PHRASE WOULD BE TO INSERT "AFTER AN ADEQUATE PERIOD OF TIME" AFTER THE PHRASE "INCLUDING THE CONTINUATION." SUCH A BALANCED SENTENCE WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS, WITH PARENTHESES REPRESENTING BRACKETS:

QUOTE

--CONVINCED THAT, IN ORDER TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE, THEY SHOULD MAKE NEW EFFORTS, INCLUDING THE CONTINUATION, (AFTER AN ADEQUATE PERIOD OF TIME) IN APPROPRIATE FORMS, OF THE MULTI-CONFIDENTIAL

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LATERAL PROCESS BEGUN BY THE CONFERENCE, (INCLUDING NEW MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES). UNQUOTE.

7. USDEL HAS SUPPORTED THAT NATO POSITION ON THIS POINT. UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, WE WOULD PLAN TO CONTINUE TO DO SO, BUT WOULD ACCEPT SOME BALANCED FORMULA, LIKE THE ABOVE, USING BRACKETS, IF AND WHEN SUCH A FORMULA

EMERGES WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATO CAUCUS. THIS  
WOULD CONFORM TO GENERAL WESTERN PRACTICE OF ACCEPTING  
THE BRACKETING OF ALTERNATIVE FORMULAS WHICH PERMITS  
ALL CONCERNED TO RESERVE THEIR POSITION ON DISPUTED  
POINTS WHILE DISCUSSION MOVES ON TO OTHER ISSUES.DALE

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